

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
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O R 050315Z MAY 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3450
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 1375

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: US, UN, PFOR, WA, SF
SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR BRIEFINGS BY CONTACT GROUP

REF: CAPETOWN 0700

1. WESTERN FIVE MET AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL MAY 4 AT USUN AND
APPROVED THE TALKING POINTS FOR BRIEFING BY CONTACT GROUP.
WE UNDERSTAND DEPT WILL SEND INSTRUCTIONS TO POSTS CONCERNING
FURTHER ACTION. TEXT FOLLOWS:

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TALKING POINTS FOR BRIEFING BY CONTACT GROUP

I. INTRODUCTION AND GUIDELINES

IN PRESENTING TO OTHER PARTIES AN ACCOUNT OF THE TALKS ON
NAMIBIA WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT
MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP MAINTAIN THE SPECIAL POSTURE THEY

HAVE DEFINED FOR THEMSELVES IN SEEKING TO BRING ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 385. NOW THAT AN INITIAL PHASE OF THE DISCUSSIONS HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN, AND IMPORTANT CLARIFICATIONS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S POSITION HAVE BEEN RECEIVED, A PARALLEL EFFORT SHOULD BEGIN WITH THE PURPOSE OF BRINGING SWAPO, OTHER NAMIBIAN POLITICAL GROUPS, AND THE KEY AFRICAN STATES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT DISCUSSIONS ARE MOVING IN AN ACCEPTABLE DIRECTION AND THUS LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP A STAKE IN THE EFFORT. IT IS THUS IMPORTANT THAT THEIR COMMENTS ON DEVELOPMENTS THUS FAR SHOULD BE WELCOMED, BUT WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL TO AVOID GIVING ANY OF THE PARTIES AN IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE SEEKING THEIR PRIOR APPROVAL TO ANY FUTURE STEPS. THE CONTACT GROUP MIGHT OFFER ITS VIEW THAT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE AND THAT DISCUSSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE.

IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES, BUT ESPECIALLY WITH SOUTH AFRICA, THE CONTACT GROUP SHOULD AVOID CHARACTERISING THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, OR THE EXTENT OF ANY SIDE'S CONCESSIONS, IN SUCH A WAY AS TO LIMIT THEIR FUTURE FREEDOM OF MANUEVER.

WITH SWAPO, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS MAY BE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL ROLE IN NAMIBIA THROUGH A PEACEFUL PROCESS.

II. POINTS TO BE MADE WITH ALL PARTIES

1. THE FIVE POWERS, ACTING AS A CONTACT GROUP, MET WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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OFFICIALS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN CAPE TOWN ON APRIL 27, 28 AND 29. THE FIVE POWERS WERE REPRESENTED BY OFFICIALS FROM THEIR CAPITALS, REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE UN MISSIONS, AND THEIR AMBASSADORS IN CAPE TOWN. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAS REPRESENTED BY FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA AND POLITICAL DIRECTOR FOURIE. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER PARTICIPATED IN A NUMBER OF THE SESSIONS. THE TENOR OF THE DISCUSSIONS CAN BE CHARACTERIZED AS SERIOUS THROUGHOUT. KEY ISSUES WERE REVIEWED IN A BUSINESSLIKE FASHION.

2. THROUGHOUT, THE CONTACT GROUP EMPHASIZED THAT ITS PARTICIPATION IS DIRECTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIA ISSUE CONSISTENT WITH RESOLUTION 385. THE CONTACT GROUP MADE CLEAR THAT IT SPOKE FOR NO ONE BUT ITS CONSTITUENT GOVERNMENTS; THAT THEIR PURPOSE WAS NOT TO NEGOTIATE, BUT ONLY TO EXPLORE.

3. THE RESULTS OF THE THREE DAYS OF DISCUSSIONS CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

-- IT WAS AGREED THAT THE PURPOSE OF NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE TO DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT ON THE NAMIBIA ISSUE. THE CONTACT GROUP EMPHASIZED THAT IT SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH RESOLUTION 385, AND THE DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED ON THAT BASIS.

-- THE TWO SIDES AGREED THAT THERE ARE A VARIETY OF WAYS IN WHICH THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF SUCH A SOLUTION CAN BE IMPLEMENTED. THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS ON WHICH AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, TOGETHER WITH POSSIBLE MEANS OF IMPLEMENTATION, ARE:

A. ELECTIONS. THERE WOULD BE ELECTIONS, ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHOSE TASK WOULD BE TO DECIDE UPON THE CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. VOTING WOULD BE BY SECRET BALLOT WITH PROVISION TO ENABLE FULL PARTICIPATION BY INDIVIDUALS WHO

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CANNOT READ OR WRITE.

B. INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTIONS. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AGREED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DIRECT UN INVOLVEMENT IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS SO AS TO ENSURE THAT ELECTIONS ARE HELD ON A FREE AND FAIR BASIS, AND TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. UN CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS ELSEWHERE MIGHT SERVE AS A GUIDE. SUCH INVOLVEMENT MIGHT INCLUDE A UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE APPOINTED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND SUPPORTED BY SUCH OFFICIALS OF THE SECRETARIAT AS MIGHT BE NECESSARY. DISPUTES MIGHT BE SETTLED BY AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OF JURISTS APPOINTED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, WITH PARTICIPATION BY SOUTH AFRICAN JURISTS. THE ILLUSTRATIVE NATURE OF THESE PROVISIONS MUST BE UNDERSCORED.

C. CAMPAIGN PROCESS. THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD ENSURE THAT NOTHING WOULD IMPEDE FULL AND OPEN PARTICIPATION, IN A PEACEFUL MANNER, BY ALL ADULT NAMIBIANS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. HE WOULD THEREFORE HAVE TO BE SATISFIED AS TO THE FAIRNESS OF THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. ALL PERSONS AND ALL POLITICAL PARTIES, REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL VIEWS, WOULD BE FREE TO PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING AND THE ELECTIONS. THERE WOULD BE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY. IN ADDITION, THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD HAVE TO SATISFY HIMSELF, AT ALL STAGES, AS TO THE FAIRNESS OF THE CAMPAIGN PROCESS AS WELL AS THE ELECTION ITSELF. ELECTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE AFTER AN APPROPRIATE PERIOD FOLLOWING APPOINTMENT OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

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D. RETURNEES. ALL PERSONS BORN IN OR RECOGNIZED AS
INHABITANTS OF NAMIBIA WHO ARE NOT NOW IN NAMIBIA WOULD
BE FREE TO RETURN AND PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE
POLITICAL PROCESS.

E. TRANSFER OF POWER. IN CONSULTATION WITH THOSE
MAINLY INVOLVED, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD
DEVELOP A PLAN FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL IN STAGES FROM NAMIBIA
TO PREPARE A SMOOTH TRANSFER OF POWER AT THE END OF THE
POLITICAL PROCESS.

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4. FURTHER DISCUSSION WILL BE REQUIRED ON THE QUESTIONS OF THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES AND POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND OF THE WAIVING OF THE APPLICATION OF ALL LEGISLATION AND REGULATIONS WHICH MIGHT IMPEDE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL NAMIBIANS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THE CONTACT GROUP STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF RESOLVING THESE TWO ISSUES SATISFACTORILY. WITH REGARD TO LEGISLATION AND REGULATIONS, THE FIVE WILL INDICATE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THOSE WHICH IN THEIR VIEW WOULD NEED TO BE CHANGED. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SUGGESTED THAT SOME OF THESE MATTERS WOULD BE TAKEN CARE OF BY THE REGULATIONS FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

5. THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CONCLUDED FROM THE TALKS, AND FROM THE NEED TO EXPLORE FURTHER SOME OF THE POINTS DISCUSSED, THAT IN DUE COURSE A PROCESS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR CONTINUED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE CONTACT GROUP INFORMED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT THEY WOULD BE DISCUSSING THESE MATTERS WITH OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES.

6. THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT ALL PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA AVOID STEPS WHICH MIGHT FORECLOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP EMPHASIZED THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH MIGHT FOLLOW FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TURNHALLE DRAFT CONSTITUTION. IN RESPONSE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AGREED TO REFRAIN FROM SEEKING PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL OF THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION. IT SAID THAT IT WAS COMMITTED TO TURNING OVER SOME OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES IT NOW EXERCISED TO A CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY FOR NAMIBIA, WHICH WAS NEEDED BOTH TO UNIFY THE TERRITORY AND TO REPEAL DISCRIMINATORY AND OTHER LEGISLATION. HOWEVER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ASSURED THE FIVE THAT THE AUTHORITY WOULD NOT BE THE TURNHALLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT BY ANOTHER NAME, AND ULTIMATE POWERS WOULD BE RESERVED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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SOUTH AFRICA.

7. WITH RESPECT TO THE AUTHORITY, THE FIVE POWERS SAID THAT WHILE THE PROPOSAL MIGHT NOT NECESSARILY COMPLICATE THEIR TASK, THEY COULD OFFER NO CONSIDERED VIEWS WITHOUT MORE INFORMATION ON THE PROPOSED ADMINISTRATIVE RE-ARRANGEMENTS. THE FIVE ASKED FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AT AN EARLY DATE.

III. ADDITIONAL POINTS TO BE MADE WITH SPECIFIC PARTIES

1. WITH THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL:

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE ROLE WE ENVISION FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE SECRETARIAT WILL REQUIRE A MAJOR EFFORT ON THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PART, BUT ONE WITHIN HIS ORGANIZATIONAL CAPABILITIES.

-- WE WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PERSONAL THOUGHTS ON MEANS OF UN INVOLVEMENT.

-- WE WOULD WELCOME ANY FURTHER ADVICE THE SECRETARY GENERAL MIGHT HAVE ON THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, INCLUDING HIS EVENTUAL PARTICIPATION. WE WOULD ALSO WELCOME HIS REACTION TO AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS.

-- IN PARTICULAR, IF THE SECRETARY GENERAL CONCURS THAT THE WORK OF THE CONTACT GROUP HAS BEEN PROCEEDING IN THE CORRECT DIRECTION, WE WOULD WELCOME HIS MAKING THAT KNOWN TO FRONT LINE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND TO SWAPO.

2. WITH SWAPO (EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL) AND THE NATIONAL FRONT:

-- THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE CONTACT GROUP HAVE UNDERTAKEN THIS EFFORT BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE
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TO THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA.

-- THE CONTACT GROUP HAS NO ILLUSIONS REGARDING THE DIFFICULTY OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS ENCOURAGED BY THE INITIAL TALKS IN CAPE TOWN TO BELIEVE THAT A POLITICAL PROCESS FOR NAMIBIA CAN BE DEVELOPED IN WHICH ALL POLITICAL GROUPS, INCLUDING SWAPO, CAN COMPETE FAIRLY FOR POLITICAL POWER.

-- WE WISH TO EMPHASIZE TO SWAPO THAT THIS MAY BE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL ROLE IN NAMIBIA THROUGH A PEACEFUL PROCESS.

3. ADDITIONAL POINT FOR SWAPO (INTERNAL):

-- THE CONTACT GROUP WELCOMED THE LETTER SENT TO IT ON APRIL 26 BY MR D J K TJONGARERO IN WHICH HE EXPRESSED SWAPO'S SUPPORT FOR RESOLUTION 385 AND OPPOSITION TO A TURNHALLE "SOLUTION."

4. WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES (TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, BOTSWANA) AND NIGERIA:

-- THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP HAVE UNDERTAKEN THIS EFFORT IN THE CONVICTION THAT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE

NAMIBIA PROBLEM REMAINS POSSIBLE. THE RESULTS OF THEIR TALKS
IN CAPE TOWN CONFIRM THEM IN THAT BELIEF.

-- NEVERTHELESS, THE CONTACT GROUP RECOGNIZES THAT DIFFICULT
NEGOTIATIONS LIE AHEAD WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND WITH THE VARIOUS
POLITICAL FACTIONS IN NAMIBIA, INCLUDING SWAPO.

-- MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP WILL BE LOOKING TO THE
CO-OPERATION OF THE FRONT LINE STATES AS DISCUSSIONS EVOLVE.

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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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5. ADDITIONAL POINT WITH ANGOLA:

MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP HOPE THAT ANGOLA
IN PARTICULAR WILL USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH SWAPO IN A
POSITIVE DIRECTION. SUCCESS IN THE EFFORTS NOW BEGUN
WOULD BRING ABOUT, THE FIVE POWERS BELIEVE, A
CONSIDERABLY MORE SECURE SITUATION ON ANGOLA'S SOUTHERN

FRONTIER.

6. ADDITIONAL POINT WITH NIGERIA:

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-- MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP HOPE THAT NIGERIA
WILL USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH SWAPO TO ASSURE ITS SERIOUS
PARTICIPATION IN FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

7. WITH TURNHALLE:

-- THE FIVE POWERS HAVE INITIATED AN EFFORT TO
BRING ABOUT AN ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY AN INDEEDENT
NAMIBIA WILL BE ACCEPTED INTERNATIONALLY AS A STATE.

--THEY BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN ONLY BE DONE IN A
FASHION CONSISTENT WITH RESOLUTION 385. THE ALTERNATIVE
TO SUCH A PROCESS WOULD BE A CIRCUMSTANCE IN WHICH NAMIBIA
IS TOTALLY ISOLATED IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

--MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP BELIEVE THAT A
SATISFACTORY AND FAIR SETTLEMENT CAN BE NEGOTIATED, AND
THEY HOPE TO BRING ABOUT SUCCESS IN THAT PROJECT. THEY
WISH TO STRESS THAT IN SO DOING THEY ARE DETERMINED TO
REMAIN STRICTLY IMPARTIAL. UNQUOTE
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Message Attributes

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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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